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pendence of character which determined this choice of means for discipline was the real source of the success which the youth too modestly attributed to the discipline itself.

It is all-important in considering the problems of education to have clearly before our minds what are its true ends and its most direct proximate means. This is far more important, in a philosophical consideration of the subject, than any amount of evidence on the working of a system of subsidiary means supposed to be adapted to ends very ill understood. It is a far more important question than that to which answer is made in the testimony of experienced teachers and examiners as to the value of any system of examinations for testing a youth's "examination-passing-power." This testimony may be good evidence that a university is really doing, and doing faithfully, what it professes to do; but it is not a proof that its system is the best, or that its ideas of a liberal education are soundly based either in experience or philosophy. It is not a proof that philosophy is kept alive in such a university, even to the degree of inspiring a hope beyond the seeming practicable, or creating any desire for a wider range of influence, or for a more comprehensive knowledge of its duties.

CHAUNCEY WRIGHT.

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### ART. III. — AN EPISODE IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

#### III. THE RING CHARTER.

THE Tammany Ring charter for New York City was passed in the month of April, 1870; it was in July, 1871, that the New York "Times" electrified the whole community by the earliest authentic exposure of the frauds of those who under it had been intrusted with a power little less than supreme. The fifteen months intervening between these two dates were halcyon days to Messrs. Tweed, Sweeny, Hall, Connolly, and their coadjutors and satellites; for, though not devoid of anxieties and forebodings, those were the months in which the Ring was at the acme of its glory; it seemed actually under

all the sanction of law to have possessed itself of the pick-pockets' "bonanza," — a license to steal. The dry-nurse-and-leading-string's system of government for New York City had been tried and had resulted in ignominious failure; for it had made New York no better and Albany a great deal worse. A mere temporary expedient, the whole system of municipal government through commissions emanating from the Legislature at Albany at best could only defer the evil day, and now that it had fallen into utter disrepute the inevitable end was not remote. Under the new charter of 1870 the very best course possible to be pursued had been pursued. The city of New York was turned over for government absolutely and finally to those whom the people of New York had placed in the positions of municipal authority. An unhampered logical result might now not unfairly be looked for; if the system was inherently bad, it would break down and there an end; if there was any virtue left it, it would surely vindicate itself. Not that in either case the result would be final, for in the New York City problem a great deal more than the mere local government of Manhattan Island was and is involved, — in it nothing less than republican government in cities is on trial. If it had finally and conclusively broken down in 1870, it would only have remained to substitute some other system for it under which the community could live and develop; and had the city been left alone this would surely have been brought about in the best way of which the circumstances permitted, though as the result of how much suffering, outrage, and fraud no one can venture to say. The mere fact, on the other hand, that the better element in New York City sustained itself in the bitter struggle which was precipitated by the passage of the charter of 1870 necessarily implies very little so far as the future is concerned. It merely proved that as late as 1871 an approach to a government republican in form was not yet impossible in New York City.

The essential features of the charter of 1870 consisted in an executive board, subordinated to which was a series of departments the business of which was conducted by commissioners. The executive board, or Board of Apportionment as it was called, consisted of the gentlemen, or, as they might perhaps

be designated, of the Knights of the Ring, Messrs. Tweed, Sweeny, Hall, and Connolly ; while the department commissioners were to be the appointees of the Mayor, in whom also was vested the sole responsibility for their conduct, with exclusive powers of impeachment or removal. In due time, therefore, Mayor Hall proceeded to announce his appointments to the different departments, or rather to apportion them among his brethren of the Ring. The entire control of the Department of Public Works was allotted to Tweed, while Connolly retained the Comptrollership, and Sweeny became Commissioner of Public Parks. Some twenty other officials were also appointed to the Departments of Police, Parks, Docks, Charities, and Corrections, and to the Fire and Health Boards ; but the School Commissioners had already been appointed a short time before. Of the character of the appointees it is hardly necessary to speak. As a rule they were members of a single political party, the Democratic, although naturally the Tammany Republicans could not well be forgotten and were not wholly ignored ; had they been, one leading characteristic of New York City politics would have been wanting to the transaction. In his proclamation Hall referred to this subject, stating that he had felt " an honorable obligation to respect the political minority of his constituents, so far at least as to appoint a few of his political opponents whose past services to the public additionally deserve the recognition." The names of the " political opponents " thus selected will warrant some inferences as to the character and value of the " services to the public " here referred to. Messrs. Murphy (" Tom "), Smith (" Hank "), Manierre, Sands, and Henry have more than once been referred to in the course of these articles, and they were all reputed to have been actively concerned in the passage of the charter ; while Judge Hilton was appointed out of compliment to Mr. A. T. Stewart, whose confidential man of business he was. But all the appointments were not distributed in consideration of past services rendered. The members of the Ring generally, and Mr. Sweeny most of all, had a desire to add some little respectability to it, — it was now rich, it was powerful, and its members were growing old, and it really could not afford longer to consort

with the reckless associates of its wilder youth; so the cold shoulder was turned upon O'Brien, Morrissey, and the rest of that stamp, and harmless representatives of the more orderly class were substituted in their place. The effect of this policy was highly beneficial. The respectable classes were only too ready to accept service under the Ring, which had little to fear from any rebellion on their part once they had done so. Besides, Tweed and his associates were far too shrewd in these cases to allow aught besides the semblance of power to pass out of their hands.

The administration of municipal affairs being now properly divided among the members of the Ring, their friends and followers, business was in order, — or, more strictly if more coarsely speaking, “the steal” was in order. Indeed, while the method was obvious, the occasion for this was now becoming more and more pressing. The passage of the charter had been one of the very most expensive legislative “jobs” on record, and those who had advanced the funds necessary for effecting it were unpaid and were clamorous for money. Now it so happened that a large amount of municipal indebtedness, which had from time to time through a series of years been fraudulently incurred, had by acts of special legislation been converted into valid claims, which three of the four members of the Board of Apportionment were in their respective departments empowered to provide payment for. A further series of nefarious municipal jobs had also been carried through during the period anterior to Hall’s election as Mayor, at a total cost to the city of some five million dollars. It has been stated that during the interval while Coman was acting as Mayor, subsequently to Hoffman’s election as governor, preparations had been made to liquidate this debt through the issue of bonds, which had even been printed and stamped with the municipal seal ready for Coman’s signature. The passage of the measure by the Board of Supervisors was to be secured by Tweed, and the scheme seemed complete in every part, when suddenly doubts were suggested whether the proceeding was warranted by law, and it was accordingly abandoned. The Ring now, therefore, seized the opportunity, which the general clearing off of liabilities provided for by the fourth section of the tax levy for

1870 afforded, to finally dispose of these long-deferred claims. The section referred to was one of Sweeny's dexterous manipulation. Under it all liabilities of the county of New York incurred prior to the passage of the tax levy were to be audited by the Mayor, Comptroller, and President of the Board of Supervisors, and then paid. What has since been so widely known as the *ad interim* Board of Audit was in this way constituted. The law in question was passed on the 26th day of April. Within ten days thereafter the Board of Audit met, and upon motion of Mayor Hall it was voted that the County Auditor should collect from the various committees of the Board of Supervisors all bills and liabilities incurred prior to April 26, 1870, with the amount due upon them. The Board then adjourned, nor did it ever meet again. The single session held was not of over five minutes' duration; of course not a bill was audited by the members of it, as the law plainly required, but that whole duty was turned over to the County Auditor; and the County Auditor was James Watson, who had crept into the City Hall out of Ludlow Street Jail. Watson knew well enough why the work was thus made over to him, for he was far too shrewd and keen not to appreciate the delicacies of his Honor the Mayor's situation, and not to see how expedient it was that he should know as little as possible of what was about to be done; at the same time, having neither scruples nor a political future to embarrass his own action, he did his work with no less effective promptness than the members of the Board of Audit did theirs, — he passed all the bills in a lump, and then carried them round to each member of the Board for his signature. There was no meeting, no consultation, no investigation. No attention even was paid to the letter of the law. Properly every bill presented to the Board of Audit should have been passed upon by the Board of Supervisors, and it was presumed that this had been done. Such, however, was not the case, and, indeed, not a single one of the hundred and ninety bills thus presented had ever been before the Board of Supervisors at all. Tweed, as chairman of that Board, signed his name across the face of each bill, and Woodward's name as clerk followed below. At first the former certified, sometimes in substance and at other times in exact

and particular terms, that the bill was correct. Then even this form was omitted and Tweed's signature only was inscribed on the bills, until finally, when the last one was passed, he did not take the trouble to certify it at all, but, apparently, as it were, swallowed it whole, as it has not a word on it. Of the many claims presented some were unquestionably proper, as, for example, the very first of all, which covered a payment of \$5,000 to Judge Bedford on account of his salary. Those of the largest amounts, however, were wholly fraudulent, and in many cases were made out subsequently to the passage of the resolution by the Board of Audit, evidently manufactured for the express purpose of being paid under the authority of that Board. After the supposititious certifications of the Board of Supervisors had been affixed, the bills were sent to Watson, and a blank of the following tenor was attached: "City of New York, Department of Finance, Comptroller's Office, June 24, 1870. The undersigned, in pursuance of section 4, chapter 382, of the laws of 1870, certify that they have audited the annexed bill of ———, and have allowed the same at the sum of ——— dollars." This blank should then have been signed by Hall, Connolly, and Tweed, in the order of their names as given. Actually, however, Tweed signed first, Connolly next, and Hall last, — Hall thus shielding himself from the duty of his position, by imposing a nominal responsibility on the members of the Board whose signatures were made to precede instead of following his own. A second blank was then attached, directing the County Auditor to draw a warrant for the claim, and the money was paid. This course of procedure went on through the months of May, June, July, and August, but the larger number of warrants were paid with commendable despatch on May 6, just nine days after the law authorizing this financial irregularity had passed. During these three and a half months the sum of \$6,312,000 was paid from the city treasury on the certificates of Tweed, Connolly, and Hall. Of this grand total, \$5,710,913 was paid on account of claims approved in favor of Ingersoll, Garvey, or Woodward. This sum was deposited as it was paid in the Broadway Bank, in the manner which has been described in a former article, — Garvey and Ingersoll accompanying Wood-

ward to the bank, where the latter drew the warrants, and at the same time deposited Tweed's percentage to his credit in that institution. This amounted to about sixteen per cent of the whole, or \$ 932,858.50. On one occasion the sum of \$ 384,000 was paid to the New York Printing Company, and upon the same day Tweed deposited to his own credit the check of the company for \$ 104,000. Upon another occasion Garvey was called before the members of the Board at an informal conference and asked how much money was required to settle his accounts. He stated that \$ 264,000 was necessary to complete the city work he had on hand; on the basis of this estimate \$ 1,500,000 was granted to him. The indefatigable researches of Mr. Tilden have very completely laid bare the system pursued in the division of the spoils. Tweed's share, as shown by a comparison of his and Woodward's bank-books, was twenty-four per cent of the whole. Woodward and Watson had each seven per cent. Peter B. Sweeny received ten per cent, while the remaining sixteen per cent went to parties as yet unknown. Here was a theft of sixty-five per cent of the whole in the bills first paid by the Board of Audit; this was subsequently improved upon, and no less than eighty-five per cent of the face-value of the later bills was fraudulent. The amount of Connolly's dividend is not exactly known; neither can it be ascertained whether any part of the proceeds found its way into Hall's possession; possibly he found his own account in the promise of future promotion. The language of Mr. James O'Brien, when testifying in Hall's first trial, is not without merit as expressing from the Ring point of view the opinions of an expert as to the considerations which probably affected the Mayor's action at this juncture. "It looks to me," said O'Brien, "that a man in Mr. Hall's position would not (have signed the warrants) without he would be patted on the back,—that he would be made governor, or that he would have some emoluments." If, however, Mr. Mayor Hall kept his hands pecuniarily clean, as much cannot be said of Mr. Chamberlain Sweeny. Ten per cent of the proceeds of the Board of Audit frauds were traced by Mr. Tilden to the account of James M. Sweeny, and it was further discovered that the latter subsequently invested a large part of



the proceeds in real estate in his brother Peter's name; while other payments were made to him by Ingersoll directly.

Before going further in the course of events which marked the progress of the Ring at this time, it may be well to pass very briefly in review the results of the administration of the several departments of the city government under the appointees of Mayor Hall. At the time it was the practice to assert that, though the Ring cost a great deal, it did a great deal; and, indeed, this tone of extenuation in regard to it has not wholly ceased to make itself heard even yet. It was concerning the Department of Public Parks, perhaps, that, as long as Mr. Sweeny was in power, the most extravagant laudations were heard. Indeed every unfavorable comment upon other features of city administration were always met by a reference to the brilliant results which had been achieved in the public parks. In reality the administration of this department exhibited in at least as marked a degree as any other the wide divergence which was uniformly found to exist between the promise and performance of the Ring. Great apparent activity and the spectacle of many laborers constantly employed caused many estimable persons, not peculiarly qualified to put the labors of the Park Commission at their true value, to conclude, not only that the work was well done, but that it was worth doing. This impression was studiously fostered through methods well understood, and Mr. Sands, late of the Citizens' Association, made himself useful by the preparation of numerous special articles, which, when published in the "Evening Post," exerted no little influence on public opinion.

The work on the Central Park had, ever since its inception in 1857, been under the control of a commission appointed by the governor. Under the city charter of 1870 the functions of this board were transferred to the Department of Public Parks, which was administered by four commissioners, Messrs. Sweeny, Hilton, Thomas C. — otherwise known as "Torpedo" — Fields, and Andrew H. Green, subsequently Connolly's successor in the office of Comptroller. The latter had been identified with the Central Park from its very beginning. The Ring did not care to incur the odium of his removal, so, after their wont when dealing with men whose names carried weight with

the community, they kept Mr. Green in office, but so arranged as to render him wholly powerless. This they accomplished with great ingenuity. The charter provided that Mr. Green should retain his former position as Controller of the Parks. The Mayor, however, appointed him Commissioner of Parks, while by the tax levy his salary as Controller was taken away ; and thus, as Mr. Green could not afford to administer the latter office for nothing, he was limited to his commissionership. Not content with this humiliating treatment, the other commissioners, who formed a majority of the board, resolved themselves into an executive committee, in whose hands the entire administration of the parks was vested, and thus reduced Mr. Green to a nullity. Sweeny was made president of the committee, and directed his associates with imperial sway and with results presently to be seen. The methods of procedure in familiar use in other fields of plunder were not less successfully adopted in the management of the parks. Vast sums, largely in excess of the amount allotted by law, were expended without adequate return and often on needless works. Many of the best and most experienced of the sub-officers of the Central Park were displaced by new and presumably by more submissive men. Messrs. Olmstead and Vaux, the well-known landscape architects, whose skill and taste had created a beautiful popular resort out of a veritable waste, were restrained in the performance of their duty or wholly ignored. No opportunity was offered them of meeting either the board or its executive committee ; while their written suggestions were contemptuously neglected.

The annual cost of maintaining the Central Park, previous to the accession of Mr. Sweeny and his associates, varied from \$250,000 to \$500,000. From 1861 to 1870 the average did not reach \$400,000 ; while during the four years prior to 1870 it had fallen to an average of just \$250,000. Under Sweeny's administration the outlay rose at once to \$555,345 in 1870. During 1871 a still more formidable advance was made. For that year the Board of Apportionment set aside \$186,000 for the maintenance of the Park. In point of fact Sweeny and his associates expended \$396,438 during the first ten months of the year alone. The same disregard of legal requirements

was shown in their expenditure on other accounts, as the lesser parks, museum, and observatory, resulting in a total of \$827,452. Consequently, after employing funds designed for other objects to meet their unwarranted outlay for the Central Park, there was still a deficit of over \$100,000, which had finally to be raised by a special loan, in order to balance their accounts; and even under these circumstances they left behind them an astounding array of liabilities, including nearly \$500,000 for unpaid bills, such, for instance, as \$75,000 on laborers' pay-roll, besides numerous other obligations which, together with an additional \$500,000 or so incurred upon contracts in process of execution, involved in all an expenditure in excess of \$800,000. In fine, Messrs. Sweeny, Hilton, and Fields spent between April 20, 1870, and November 1, 1871, a total of \$6,000,000; they left behind them liabilities amounting to over \$1,500,000, and running contracts equivalent to at least an additional \$500,000; the net result being \$8,000,000 of the public money voted away in executive sessions by these critics of the "extravagance" of their predecessors; yet those predecessors had spent a less sum than this during thirteen years for the whole cost of creating as well as maintaining the Central Park.

If Mr. Sweeny failed as an economist, still more lamentable in its results was his assumption of the rôle of a man of culture. There was a time when the changes were constantly rung upon his remarkable intellectual capacity, his fine scholarship, his wide reading, and his admirable taste. In practice, however, he gave small evidence of these qualities, but displayed rather the ignorance and blind prejudice natural to a ward politician. His treatment of Professor Waterhouse Hawkins was a noticeable case in point. This accomplished *savant* had been engaged by the former Park Commission to prepare plaster models of the skeletons of a number of extinct animals of America, upon the same plan as his well-known restorations at Sydenham Crystal Palace. He had been thus occupied for twenty-one months, and had prepared, at an outlay of some \$12,000, the skeletons of two colossal vertebrates, one the Hadrosaur, together with the preparatory sketches of other fossil animals. In the midst of these labors, Sweeny's

associate, Mr. Henry Hilton, a gentleman who, like Sweeny, claimed considerable culture, and who had once been a member of the New York judiciary, ordered Professor Hawkins to desist from his labors, and then caused his work to be broken up with sledge-hammers, carted away, "and buried." The fragments have since been dug up, but in a thousand pieces and utterly worthless. Not content with this act of vandalism, Mr. Hilton further directed that Professor Hawkins's moulds and sketch-models should also be destroyed; remarking in explanation to the amazed naturalist, that he should not bother himself about "dead animals," when there were so many living ones to care for. He also, in remote imitation of the famous Stratford restorer, caused a coat of white paint to be laid on the skeleton of a whale presented to the museum by Peter Cooper, and ordered a bronze statue to be similarly decorated. The Smithsonian Institution would gladly have purchased Professor Hawkins's restorations, but that was a matter of indifference to this iconoclastic and economically minded ex-judge, whose acts were fully sustained by Mr. Sweeny, who, in the report of the Park Commission, mentioned that a Paleontological Museum for the exhibition of animals "alleged to be of the pre-Adamite period" had been planned at an estimated cost of \$300,000, but this was deemed too great a sum to expend upon "a science which, however interesting, is yet so imperfect." Another argument urged against this scheme was that the building necessary to exhibit it would obstruct the view from dwellings in the vicinity, which would be a manifest injustice to their owners. It was therefore deemed advisable, the report stated, to abandon the project, and to fill in and cover up the foundations, which had already cost \$30,000. In referring to the Natural History Collection at the Central Park Museum, Mr. Sweeny made some classifications of animals rather calculated to astonish naturalists. One department, for instance, it was stated, was devoted to "Carnivora," and another to "the wolves and bears"; a distinction, as the "Times" afterwards suggested, probably based on the fondness of the latter for berries, which caused them to be classed by the erudite Sweeny with the Frugivora.

Turning from the Park to the Department of Public Works,

we find ourselves once more in Tweed's presence, and its administration was fully characteristic of him. He was its single member, and it is not necessary to describe his operations in detail. A few examples will suffice to illustrate his method. There were lately in existence ordinances framed at his instigation for paving scores of streets many miles in length. A number of these contracts were conferred upon one Guidet, who had a patent for a stone pavement which differed from the ordinary Belgian pavement only in being composed of smaller blocks cut in rectangular shapes instead of square. For this pavement Mr. Guidet invariably charged the city \$6 a square yard, though the cost of the Belgian pavement was but \$2.40. This same liberal contractor charged \$31,532 for making repairs in West Street, which experts have since estimated as worth \$11,640. A still more flagrant act of Tweed's was to contract for a sufficient quantity of Scotch sewer pipe to last two years, at double the cost of American pipe, though the former would have to be renewed every ten years, while the latter was guaranteed to last fifty. It is asserted that the contractors in this case were required to pay Tweed thirty-three per cent of the sum charged. In another instance, under a special law passed in 1870, Tweed began the extensive work of changing the structure of the Croton Aqueduct for an entire mile, from masonry to iron pipes. No contract was awarded, but the labor was performed by gangs of men employed directly by the Department of Public Works. The pay-rolls contained numerous sinecures. The law gave the commissioner unlimited power of expenditure, and he availed himself of it; during two years he spent over two millions of dollars upon the work, which should have been completed in far less time at half the cost.

In a previous article of this series \* mention has been made of the fact that, notwithstanding the humiliating and pusillanimous conduct of the Board of Education in relation to their secretary, Mr. Boesé, it had been superseded by a new Board, appointed by Mayor Hall, and composed of willing satellites of the Ring. Among their number were Mr. Nathaniel Sands, late of the Citizens' Association; Loring Ingersoll, the partner

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\* No. CCXLVI., January, 1875, p. 153.

of Tweed's famous contractor ; Isaac Bell, William Wood, Magnus Gross, associate editor of the "Staats Zeitung," selected to please the German voters of New York, and as a compliment to Oswald Ottendorfer, who had recommended Hall as Mayor, Thomas Murphy, and others. Of the twelve commissioners nine held other offices under the Ring government. Sands was the active spirit of the Board. Notwithstanding an utter lack of literary training and an ungrammatical speech, this gentleman now essayed the rôle of an educational reformer, and in due time published an elaborate disquisition, supposed to be of his own composition, upon the subject of classical training, in which, with characteristic impudence, he bodily appropriated the views of Mill and Spencer.

At Sands' instigation a loud outcry was raised, through the press and elsewhere, at the shocking condition and extravagant cost of the public schools. He prepared an elaborate report, in which a number of reforms were suggested, while great pretence was made of cutting down the annual expenditure from \$3,150,000 to \$2,291,945. This agitation was, however, soon allowed to subside, and things took the usual course. During the two succeeding years no new school-houses were built to meet the requirements of the growing population of the city. During no year since the organization of the schools, in 1842, had the average attendance at them fallen below 83,000, and in 1868 it was 86,154 ; yet for the year ending October 1, 1870, the figures were 76,431, showing the surprising loss of ten thousand. At present the average attendance is 117,239. At the rate of growth during the years between 1865 and 1868, there should have been five thousand more pupils in 1870 instead of ten thousand less, so that the actual loss was no less than fifteen thousand, or sixteen per cent of the whole. In the budget of expenses a no less marked difference the other way was revealed. Instead of a saving of three fourths of a million, there was an increase in the annual outlay of some \$300,000 ; and this independent of a promised saving of \$400,000, from a decision of the Board not to erect any new school-buildings during the year.

It would, however, prove a wearisome reiteration to pass in review each of the different departments of the Ring govern-

ment. What is true of one is in a greater or less degree true of all. Everywhere loud professions of reform and promises of economy, followed by new and more ingenious devices of corruption and a wilder extravagance. Whether in projecting public improvements or in executing those projected by others, — whether in superintending the schools, in adorning or adding to the parks, or in caring for the poor, the sick, and the vicious, — the results of the Ring government were always open to criticism and rarely failed to merit severe censure. All work was badly performed, and much of it should never have been performed at all. Especially, also, is it worthy of note that the new and more respectable men appointed as heads of departments by Hall failed even more lamentably than their baser associates. They displayed a conspicuous unfitness for their positions, the result either of incapacity or of stupidity; while they were either too weak or too incompetent to thwart or even to materially obstruct the cunning practices of their less scrupulous fellow-laborers. This, however, was no unnatural result, as it could hardly have been anticipated that the wolves would wittingly invite the shepherd's dog into their councils. The movements, therefore, in favor of a "reform" representation had in them at times an element of emptiness which bordered closely on the ludicrous. For instance, in the summer of 1870, in response to a general demand made through the press for the Ring to place some leading citizens in the Board of Aldermen, a list was made up in Tweed's office which contained, side by side with seven members of the old and notoriously corrupt Common Council, the names of Oswald Ottendorfer, Moses Taylor, Royal Phelps, and Leonard W. Jerome. As was expected, all the candidates last named, with a single exception, declined the nominations tendered them, and that exception was Mr. Leonard W. Jerome. It would be difficult for the most kindly disposed to specify which of Mr. Jerome's antecedents had peculiarly indicated him as a probable worker in the field of political reform: he had been notorious during the war's high carnival at the Gold Board, he was closely connected with the turf, and not unknown at the Faro-table; but none of these fields of activity were identified, in the popular mind at least, with

lofty aspirations for an increased municipal integrity. In due time, however, Mr. Jerome was elected, in company with a number of other gentlemen, all of whom were vouched for as reliable ward and district "workers," and Coman was again chosen president of the Board. The critics of Ring government were thus silenced, while the control of affairs remained exactly where it had been before, notwithstanding the entrance of Mr. Jerome on an aldermanic career.

It is necessary, however, to return to the course of political events which succeeded the organization of the city government under the Ring charter. The passage of that charter in the spring of 1870 had worked the decisive overthrow of the Young Democracy, whose combination had been driven from the field of operations at Albany in a condition of apparently hopeless demoralization. O'Brien and his coadjutors were, however, not easily discouraged. They were young, they were unscrupulous, they were hungry; and accordingly it was not in defeat, nor in the treachery of confederates, nor the abandonment of allies, long to discourage them; destruction only would silence them, and that was not yet one of the regular conclusions of the game. So in the autumn of 1870 the Young Democracy began once more to give indications of a returning animation. As a faction, it no longer enjoyed the powerful assistance of the press. The "World" had now joined hands with the men against whom it had but recently, in the journalistic sense, declared "war to the knife"; and to this course it had been impelled, it was alleged, partly by the counsels of Mr. Tilden, who urged that in politics one must not cherish resentments, and partly by the urgency of those financially interested in its success, who deprecated an independence which entailed a pecuniary loss. Thenceforward that paper stood forth upon all occasions the unblushing defender of the Ring, and had no words but those of praise in which to speak of "those noted corruptionists," Hall and Tweed. Thereafter a large amount of corporation advertising crowded its depleted columns. The other newspaper champions of the Young Democracy either went over bodily to the enemy or became very lukewarm in their advocacy. Yet this apparent loss of support was counterbalanced by the adhesion of several fearless



and honorable men from within the ranks of the Democracy, who thereafter rendered invaluable services in the conflicts with the Ring. Hitherto the Young Democracy had been a mere faction in a more or less chaotic condition, but it now gradually assumed the shape of a united and disciplined opposition, scarcely inferior to the forces of the Ring as respects that party organization, the perfection of which had always been to the latter its great guaranty of success. This change was mainly due to the new-comers, who brought with them an ability and political experience far greater than that possessed by any of the former leaders of the Young Democracy. Foremost among these recruits was Henry L. Clinton, an able lawyer, who afterwards took an active share in the suits against Hall. During the ensuing contest with the Ring, Mr. Clinton spoke frequently, assailing their rule in the most trenchant language. Not content with denouncing the existing general corruption, he arraigned the individual acts of Hall, Sweeny, Tweed, and Connolly with great courage and mastery of the facts. These speeches have since been printed in pamphlet form, and they contain a valuable record of the contest for reform. Mr. Thomas Boesé, former clerk of the Board of Education, whose enforced resignation from that position has been fully detailed in an earlier paper of this series,\* also gave much valuable counsel to the reformers, who were likewise aided by W. H. Wickham, subsequently Mayor of New York; Judge Barrett, A. R. Lawrence, and by other respectable Democrats. The operations of the Young Democracy under this new leadership soon acquired significance.

The ingenious device through which the majority of the Tammany sachems had, under Tweed's leadership, prevented a majority of the General Committee from holding a meeting in Tammany Hall, to test the relative strength of the two factions during the legislative struggle which preceded the passage of the charter, has already been described. Afterwards, these same sachems set the General Committee at defiance, and ordered new elections to be held in the wards represented by the members who opposed them. Indeed, not content with defeating the reformers by means of wholesale bribery at Albany, the

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\* No. CCXLVI. January, 1875, pp. 149-152.

Ring, adding insult to injury, sought to make them ridiculous. At the annual election of the Tammany sachems in the spring of 1870, though the reformed Democracy did not in any way seek to participate in it, it was announced through the papers that the latter had nominated a ticket upon which were the names of Messrs. Tilden, Marble, McLean, Hayes, Hogan, Schell, Green, Devlin, and S. L. M. Barlow, and this ticket was credited with only twenty-three votes out of a total of two hundred and sixty-five, thus conveying abroad the impression that these representatives of the reform movement were supported only by an insignificant minority of the party. This parting shot was not without its effect either, for even the "Times" ridiculed the reformers for this, supposed to be their last and most humiliating defeat. Through these various manœuvres the Ring sachems retained possession of Tammany Hall, and with it the prestige which results therefrom. The drift of their proceedings had evinced about the same disregard of right and of usage which might be imagined in case an English Ministry, finding itself supported by a minority only in Parliament, should refuse to resign, and having a technical right to occupy the hall of St. Stephen's, should forcibly exclude therefrom the opposition members, and order new elections for their seats. In view of these facts, the reformers very properly ignored the Tammany organization and proceeded to choose a new General Committee. This body then selected delegates to the forthcoming State Convention, who were instructed to demand recognition as the regular New York representatives, in place of the Tammany delegation. Henry L. Clinton was made chairman of this body, which comprised O'Brien, John Fox, Thomas Ledwith, William Walsh, James Hayes, Roswell D. Hatch, George McLean, Tweed's late superior in the Street Department, and thirty-three others.

The Democratic State Convention had been called to meet at Rochester on September 20, 1870. Most of the delegates were from the country districts, and of the same stamp as the senators and assemblymen whom Tweed had bribed by the wholesale at Albany. There were two contesting delegations from New York City, that representing the Young Democracy, just referred to, and the so-called regular Tammany Hall delegation,

headed by Peter B. Sweeny, who on this as on many like occasions proved to be a host in himself. It was on this occasion and to prevent interference with their plans, that the Ring hired and conveyed to Rochester a body-guard consisting of some hundreds of New York City ruffians and shoulder-hitters, who were appropriately called "Tweed's-lambs." Free passes for this prætorian phalanx were supplied by the Erie managers, and its members demeaned themselves rather after the fashion of the stragglers of a raiding army than a peaceful political delegation. They took entire possession of the train in which they were carried, picked the pockets of and insulted the few respectable passengers upon it; fought indiscriminately with each other, and indulged in general drunken license; at every place on the road where the train stopped, they ransacked bar-rooms and stores, destroyed furniture, pillaged orchards and gardens, and plundered indiscriminately. Even those who had engaged their services, accustomed as they were to rough company, were alarmed at their depredations. Sweeny's brother-in-law, J. J. Bradley, Richard O'Gorman, and Judge "Mike" Connolly, all men of varied experience, deemed it prudent, in company with many other delegates, to leave the train and await another. Rumors of the exploits of these "lambs" reached the authorities of Rochester in advance of their arrival, and they became so alarmed for the safety of their city, in view of the letting loose in it at a late hour of the night of so many desperadoes, that they incontinently telegraphed to have the train delayed until daylight.

Meanwhile a preliminary meeting of the chief wirepullers of the party, including Mr. Tilden, was immediately held in Sweeny's rooms at the Osborne House, where, as a mere matter of form, the Ring programme was submitted for approval. The State Central Committee also had a secret session, at which it was decided that no one should be admitted to the floor of the Convention without a ticket. This decision soon became known, and Mr. Clinton at once applied to Mr. Tilden, as chairman of the State Central Committee, for tickets of admission for himself and his brother delegates of the Young Democracy. Mr. Tilden, however, deferred complying with this request until the next day, when he informed Mr. Clinton

that he had already issued tickets to the Tammany representatives, thus assuming that they were the regular delegation, but at the same time he politely offered spectators' tickets to the delegates of the Young Democracy. Naturally these were indignantly refused. By these adroit tactics Mr. Clinton and his associates were excluded from the floor of the Convention, and apparently it was supposed that they would thereupon attend as spectators in the gallery and attempt to take part in the proceedings without credentials, in which case their course would have been manifestly improper, and would have justified their forcible expulsion. In view of such a possible contingency, it is certainly a curious coincidence that five hundred tickets of admission, which had been placed in Mr. Tilden's room for safe-keeping, very mysteriously disappeared, and there is presumptive proof that they were distributed among "Tweed's lambs" to enable them to be on hand in case their services might be required. The representatives of the Young Democracy were, however, too worldly-wise to incur the risk of a physical contest under these conditions, and so they prudently kept aloof from the hall. The Convention was packed to overflowing, and a posse of twenty-five police officers supplemented the efforts of the presiding officer for the preservation of order. "Tweed's lambs" were no respecters of persons. It devolved upon Mr. Tilden, as chairman of the State Central Committee, to call the Convention to order; but while he was striving to make his way through the crowd, his watch was stolen from him by one of them who, on being afterwards arrested, jocosely remarked that he was a candidate for a United States revenue office, and had taken the watch with a view to making a suitable present, customary under such circumstances, to President Grant. The Mayor of Rochester also was robbed in the same manner. Undisturbed by this slight interruption, perhaps even not unconscious of a certain poetic justice in it, Mr. Tilden proceeded to deliver a long and elaborate address, in which he discreetly avoided any allusion to the questions immediately before the Convention, but devoted himself to denouncing in general terms the despotisms of the Old World and to assailing centralism in the national government. He asserted the need of a return to the principles of the Constitution, and in doing

so stated many sound general truths of a more immediate application, of which he could not have been unconscious ; but he made no direct reference to the Ring. The worst comment which can be made upon his speech is, that it was received with cheers. Mr. Tilden concluded by nominating, as temporary chairman, William C. DeWitt, a Tammany office-holder from Brooklyn,—a nomination strenuously, but in vain, opposed by eight out of ten of the delegates from that city. This individual was selected with a special view to checking any efforts of the reformers to obtain a hearing in the Convention. The rules of procedure of the New York Assembly had been adopted, and these provided that any contesting member could present his credentials through a member whose seat was not contested, and have his claim referred to the proper committee. The Young Democracy at once sought to avail themselves of this provision ; and directly after the roll had been called, Mr. S. G. Mott rose and submitted their credentials and asked for the appointment of a committee to investigate them. The well-instructed chairman, however, wholly declined to take this view of the question, but, on the contrary, announced that he should not recognize any delegation from New York other than that already on the roll. It is needless to add that this impartial decision was greeted with applause by the partisans of the Ring.

The Young Democracy then abandoned the contest, and, having published a vigorous protest in the papers, returned to New York. The Convention thereupon proceeded with its business without fear of interruption, and, having nominated Hoffman for governor, triumphantly adjourned. A few days later the "Herald" very appropriately referred to the Convention as "the most out-and-out Tammany demonstration ever held in the State of New York," but, in common with the "World," it also insisted that the gang of ruffians who attended its deliberations were the hirelings of the Young Democracy. The "Leader," in its full report of the proceedings, made, however, absolutely no reference to Mr. Clinton and his associates, but contrasted the concord and paternal devotion to Democratic principles exhibited at Rochester, with the disorder shown at the contemporaneous Republican State

Convention at Saratoga. With infinite assurance, it asserted that the charge made by certain papers that the Convention had met simply to register the decrees of the Ring, was a poor attempt to make fun at the expense of the Democratic party, as there was really harmony and enthusiasm among the delegates in a very marked degree. Governor Hoffman also indulged in the pleasant doctrine of "harmony and enthusiasm" in the speech in which he accepted the renomination, though the real facts of the case could have been known by no one better than by himself. And so the Tammany delegation returned to New York in all the sanctity of "harmony and enthusiasm," duly escorted by their train of disciples of the new dispensation, who left behind them a trail of robbery and outrage which is still referred to with dismay by the people of the pleasant city of Rochester.

The struggle, however, was not yet over. The charter election was impending, and the members of the Ring were under the necessity of securing the re-election of Hall, whose term of office would shortly expire. The Young Democracy, whose opposition was stimulated by their late contemptuous treatment at Rochester, prepared to contest the mayoralty canvass with great energy. Their general committee met in convention and nominated a county ticket headed by Thomas Ledwith, a local politician of reputed integrity, and, what was of far greater moment, of unquestioned popularity, especially among the Roman Catholics, whose devoted friend he was. Elected to the State Legislature when only twenty-three years of age, he had had the independence to vote against some railroad project favored by Peter B. Sweeny, and had thereby incurred that individual's enmity. In spite of the latter's persistent opposition, however, Ledwith was twice chosen police justice. Though he was not a man whose election would have added lustre to the mayoralty, Ledwith could not have sunk the office in a deeper mire of disgrace than Hall, while he had the positive merit of being the candidate of those who most nearly represented the cause of honesty and decency. The rest of the ticket was made up of men of about the same calibre as Ledwith. The Ring naturally had no thought of any candidate but Hall, whose re-election was, indeed, absolutely essen-

tial to their existence ; for his defeat at this time must have, as is now well known, involved their destruction. Their consciousness of this fact was indicated by the large attendance at the nominating convention, which included Tweed, Sweeny, Belmont, Cardozo, Brennan, Isaac Bell, L. S. M. Barlow, Mr. Jerome, the new "respectable" alderman, Wilson G. Hunt, and others. Hall was renominated, in compliment, doubtless, to the Catholic interest, by the editor of the "Metropolitan Record," a leading Catholic journal, in a fulsome speech, wherein the shallow and versatile Mayor was placed on a par for legal ability and standing with Mr. O'Connor, while, as chief magistrate of the city, he was happily compared to the balance-wheel of a watch. He was further pronounced the synonym of official courtesy, while the public danger involved in the substitution of another candidate for him was pathetically set forth. As a matter of course, the nomination was carried unanimously. Speeches were made by different orators, the remarks most pertinent to the occasion being what the "Leader" called "a few golden sentences" from Tweed himself, in which he urged the assembled audience to "get home early and work industriously." And during the ensuing contest both the friends and opponents of the Ring showed that they had laid his injunction to heart.

While the Young Democracy held mass meetings at Apollo Hall, the Cooper Institute, and other places, at which Mr. Clinton and his associates vigorously denounced the Ring to large and enthusiastic audiences, the members of the Ring itself made skilful use of all their time-honored agencies for affecting public sentiment in their favor. Numerous mass meetings were held, at which the heart of the fierce city Democracy was duly fired ; but the most notable of these took place October 27, 1870, at Tammany Hall. On this occasion Tweed himself presided, and vigorously denounced the anticipated Federal interference in the election ; while speeches were also made by Ex-Governor Seymour, August Belmont, S. S. Cox, Messrs. Kerr, Thayer, Thomas C. Fields, Creamer, and Fernando Wood. The event of the evening, however, was the maiden speech of Mr. James Fisk, Jr., who, since the close union which had been formed between the Ring and the

Gould-Fisk Erie direction, was naturally looked upon as an ally of Tammany. When the meeting was nearly over and the strong appetite of the Democracy had become satiated, as it were, by the solid speeches of the evening, Fisk was recognized in the gallery, and, being enthusiastically called upon for his views on the political situation, he said briefly that the candidate whom he specially favored was Hoffman, and he meant to cast his first vote in New York State for him, he having previously voted in Massachusetts. This solicitude for Hoffman's re-election was further enforced by the instructions given to the Erie employees through a confidential agent of Fisk, in language of characteristic energy, "We don't care a damn about the rest of the ticket; you may paste off with the Republicans all the rest, but we must have Hoffman and the Legislature." As it approached its close the canvass waxed hotter and hotter. The assaults of the Young Democracy increased in vigor and effect, while the Ring in turn retorted through every form of vituperation. Their opponents were stigmatized as a mere faction. It was charged against the Young Democracy that they had formed a coalition with the Republicans; and that John Fox, their representative, was in league with the then collector, Mr. Thomas Murphy, and President Grant, who had promised large subscriptions of money to the Young Democracy in return for their aid in securing the defeat of Hoffman and carrying the State for the Republicans. With delightful inconsistency, the Ring, whose chief successes had always notoriously been gained by the corrupt aid of Republicans, now bitterly assailed this new alliance as "political treason," and only worthy of "renegades and deserters." Certain of the Young Democracy and their allies were subjected to unstinted personal abuse, for which, it must be confessed, good and sufficing pretexts were not far to seek. While the older men, like Judge Clerke, were harmlessly enough styled valetudinarians, and Mr. Clinton was contemptuously referred to as a criminal lawyer,—though that chanced also to be Hall's legitimate vocation,—Morrissey was with more effect stigmatized as a gambler and an ex-prize-fighter, and O'Brien was truthfully enough characterized as an ambitious and unscrupulous city demagogue.



The Ring did not, however, confine itself to this species of warfare ; indeed, it neglected no agency calculated to insure success. Among others it had recourse to the odor of respectability. At one of the Tammany Hall meetings, held during the canvass, a long list of vice-presidents was paraded, in which was included the names of Messrs. Tilden, Schell, L. S. M. Barlow, and others, who but a few short months before had been contemptuously credited with an insignificant vote upon the ballot for Tammany sachems. Rather a noticeable instance of self-stultification occurred during this canvass, which fixed the moral degradation of one who had previously stood comparatively high in the public esteem, in the case of Richard O'Gorman at a meeting of the Tammany General Committee, which was presided over by Tweed. This individual, a former prominent Fenian leader in Ireland, had in previous years vigorously denounced the Ring as a curse to New York. Virtue had in this case been the recipient of a substantial reward, for Mr. O'Gorman in due time received the nomination of Corporation Counsel from the Citizens' Association. This nomination, seconded by Tammany Hall, secured O'Gorman's election, and subsequently his firm allegiance to the Ring. His office was one of the most important in the city government ; and he bowed himself so entirely to the will of the Ring, that he was retained in it under the new charter, subject to removal by the Mayor. He thus became wholly dependent upon the Ring for his official and political existence ; and on the occasion referred to, he argued, with all the authority of the counsel of the corporation, that " no body or party can exist without a government, — call it a Ring if you will " ; and he went on to add, that if a choice was necessary between the present Ring, " composed, if you will, of Mr. Tweed, Mr. Sweeney, and Mr. Hall," and one made up of members of the Young Democracy, he for one would stand by the old Ring, because he believed it had not only more honesty and character, but " more sagacity, more power, more intelligence, more political skill, and more promise of success than the other." The audacity of such a declaration was in keeping with the Ring's policy. Its members boldly took the bull by the horns, and discounted criticism, though they thus only postponed the impend-

ing settlement. More and more serious charges were brought against them, and in particular vigorous complaints now began to be heard in regard to the condition of the city finances.

The Comptroller's report is usually made in January ; but in 1870, Connolly, in defiance of law, neglected to publish any report of the operations of the preceding year until October, when at last he furnished what purported to be a statement of municipal expenditures during the preceding twenty-one months. In this document all suspicious items were grouped under the convenient heading "For General Purposes," which was made to include a total of no less than nine out of twenty-one millions of dollars. Meanwhile, it was known that the city valuation had doubled during the ten years between 1860 and 1870, while the annual assessment of taxes had, during the same period, more than doubled, rising from something less than ten millions to over \$23,000,000. Yet in spite of this enormous increase, the growth of the city debt had been most alarming ; and though its full extent was not known, this very ignorance gave to it a vague uncertainty which excited scarcely less apprehension than would have been caused by an avowal of the portentous truth.

In fact the debt which at the close of 1860 had amounted to a little less than \$19,000,000, at the close of 1870 exceeded \$73,000,000, and during the year 1870 alone \$25,000,000 had been added to it. Nor was there any mitigating circumstance to break the force of this discovery, once it became public ; for investigation, whatever direction it took, would only render it more alarming and more significant. It could not be urged that, during those years of increasing debt, the tax levy had not increased also, for it had risen from \$9,758,000 in 1860 to \$23,566,000 in 1870 ; neither could it be argued that these had been years of great prosperity during which the real increase of wealth had far exceeded the estimates of the assessors, so that the burden of taxation bore a less proportion to the wealth of the city in 1870 than it did in 1860 ; for in the first of these years the valuation amounted to \$700 to each inhabitant of the city, while in 1870 it had risen to over \$1,100. During the first forty years of the century the annual tax levy of New York

had averaged less than one half of one per cent on the valuation; not until 1846 did it reach one per cent, but in 1861 it exceeded two per cent, and in 1872 it was 2.25 per cent. So also as respects the average amount annually paid by each inhabitant; this test only confirmed the others. In 1840 the annual levy averaged only \$4.33 to an inhabitant; in 1850 it was but \$6.27; in 1860 it was \$11.99; while in 1870 it was \$25.11; yet in spite of this enormous increase of burden, the proportion of debt to the inhabitant had during these last ten years grown from \$23.21 to \$77.87. It may in fine be briefly said that during the five years between 1867 and 1871, inclusive, the average taxation of New York City had amounted to \$25 annually to each inhabitant, while the city debt had at the same time annually increased at the rate of \$12 to each inhabitant. In other words, the city revenue almost precisely met two thirds of the city's expenses.

In view of these unrevealed but dimly suspected facts it became obviously desirable, with an eye to the impending election, that the general feeling of distrust excited by the failure of the Comptroller to make his regular report should in some way be dissipated. The peculiar tactics of Mr. Sweeny were called into play to accomplish this result, which was brought about by what may well be regarded as his master-stroke of municipal strategy. At the request of Mr. Connolly, an informal committee of gentlemen, who were among the largest property-holders of New York, visited the Comptroller's office, and spent a few hours in a nominal examination of his accounts. This done, they issued a card in which, on the 5th of November, they publicly stated that "we have come to the conclusion, and certify, that the *financial affairs of the city under the charge of the Comptroller are administered in a correct and faithful manner.*" They then went on to state the amount of the city debt at \$48,644,487, and to convey to their fellow-citizens the cheering intelligence "that, at the rate at which the redemption of this debt has been provided for during the period of the office of the present Comptroller, the whole city debt as above *will be extinguished in less than twelve years.*" To this extraordinary document were appended the names of John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, Marshall O. Roberts, E. D.

Brown, Edward Schell, and George K. Sistere. Comment on such a performance is unnecessary. The signers of the certificate were guilty of perpetrating a fraud on their fellow-citizens. They were men of business, — they were men of property ; as such they commanded the confidence of the property-holders of New York. They could not but have known perfectly well, when they signed the certificate of November 5, both the characters of those then in control of the city finances and the utter impossibility of effecting a thorough examination of so complicated a system of accounts during the time they had devoted to them. The whole transaction admits of but one explanation, — an explanation hardly less discreditable to the social condition then prevailing in New York than to those who thus permitted themselves to appear before the public as the accomplices of thieves, — the signers of that certificate believed that those then in control of the government of their city were secure in their power ; they were themselves residents and tax-payers of New York, and they saw their account in standing well with those who decreed improvements and assessed taxes. One of their number, Mr. Marshall O. Roberts, has since publicly acknowledged his deep contrition for this disgraceful act, conceding that the certificate he then signed “ was used as a cover and a shield by those who were robbing the city,” and confessing that he took “ much blame ” to himself “ for having so readily fallen into the trap,” and that “ he deeply regretted the consequences.” The repentance, however, was somewhat tardy. The certificate for the moment accomplished all that the Ring anticipated from it, for the tax-payers of New York could not believe that men so astute and clear-headed in the management of their private affairs as Messrs. Astor, Taylor, and Roberts, would hold themselves forth as vouching for the public financial condition without at least having some acquaintance with that of which they professed to speak. It is not easy to leave the subject of this famous certificate without pausing for a moment to reflect on what were the probable sensations of those who profited most by the brilliant success of this master-stroke of policy. Tweed’s boisterous merriment, Sweeny’s saturnine satisfaction, and Connolly’s sleek smile and oily contentment, can well be im-

agined as they chuckled over the skill and ease with which they had made the shrewdest and most wealthy citizens of New York their cat's-paws and accomplices. It is small matter for surprise that, after this brilliant stroke of policy, they thought themselves secure beyond peradventure in the possession of their power, and really believed that there was no limit to the frauds they might perpetrate and the antics they might play.

Another influence now also came into play, producing in itself a result almost decisive upon the contest for the mayoralty, — the transfer of the Catholic support from Ledwith to Hall. This defection was brought about through a bargain between the Ring and certain magnates of the church during the very week of the election, and under threats of cutting off supplies and promises of future aid. Upon the Sunday preceding the election it was announced, in some instances it was asserted even from the pulpit itself, that the Catholic vote was to be given to A. Oakey Hall for Mayor. This, of course, was the end of Ledwith's hopes, and it now only remained to record the results of an election quietly conducted, simultaneously with one for the election of the Lord Mayor of London.

There was but little repeating ; and the Ring ticket, both for State and city officers, was elected. Hoffman's majority was 49,000 over Woodford, while Hall received 70,000 votes to 46,270 cast for Ledwith. In spite of his support by the Young Democracy, the latter had only 10,000 more votes in New York City than were cast for Woodford, the Republican candidate for governor, which number the "Leader" claimed represented the whole of the strength of both the discontented and reforming elements. It then proceeded, in characteristic language, to sum up the results of the contest, declaring that Tammany Hall could not possibly be stronger than now : "The chronic sore-heads had been obliterated, the existing government remained intact ; a good Democratic delegation had been sent to Congress and to the Assembly, while the lawsuit against the Comptroller was killed." This last sentence referred to a claim, of which more will presently be heard, and which had been presented by Sheriff O'Brien against the city for some \$ 100,000 due him in fees.

It is now necessary, however, to refer to an apparently tri-

fling incident which was yet fraught with grave consequences to the Ring, and ultimately contributed largely to its downfall. In January, 1870, Sheriff O'Brien obtained from Connolly an appointment under the County Auditor for one of his henchmen, William S. Copeland, a seemingly inoffensive fellow and a skilful accountant, who performed his duties as assistant book-keeper to the satisfaction of his superiors. The Auditor's room was divided by high partitions, which effectually concealed Watson's private office from public observation. As a rule, Watson kept all vouchers belonging to bills against the city locked up in his own desk. Suspicion that matters in the Comptroller's office were not all right was first excited in Copeland's mind by noticing that certain vouchers which by accident came into his hands, though for unusually large amounts, were yet not sworn to as required by law. One in particular, for awnings, to the amount of \$18,000, so attracted his notice as to lead him to examine into other matters which seemed to call for some explanation. It happened shortly after that Copeland was directed to copy various accounts from a book called the Record of Vouchers, and while engaged upon it, he came to certain entries headed County Liabilities, when Mr. Lynes, his immediate superior, hastily interfered, with the remark that both Connolly and Watson would be very angry if they found that any one but himself transcribed this account. Considering who his sponsor was, it would have been most unnatural had not the already suspicious Copeland contrived to examine this forbidden record secretly. It contained enormous entries for payments made on account of plastering and furniture supplied to the city, none of the amounts of which were sworn to by the contractors, and which Copeland also knew from personal knowledge must be wrong. He became satisfied that the whole record was fraudulent, and with a pretty definite idea that the information might be valuable to himself or to his political friends, he transcribed the entire list of "County Liabilities." He told O'Brien of his discovery, and was advised to copy and preserve everything which indicated fraud. During the mayoralty election in the fall of 1870, which has just been referred to, O'Brien placed these figures confidentially in the hands of

Judge Barrett, and intended, in case of his own expected nomination as Mayor, to publish them as one of his campaign documents; but when Ledwith was nominated, he abandoned this design, preferring probably to reserve his ammunition for future engagements, in the result of which he might have a more direct personal interest. Somewhat later in the year O'Brien, as a means of securing the settlement of the claim against the city recently referred to, and which the Ring refused to pay, threatened to publish these accounts in the "Times." Tweed and Connolly favored paying the claim, but this Sweeny bitterly opposed; for, while Tweed frankly confessed that he had no stomach for another fight like that of the previous winter in the Legislature, Sweeny not unwisely insisted that O'Brien's greed was insatiable, and that an issue might as well be made with him then as at any other time. Accordingly it was finally announced to O'Brien by Tweed, at the latter's office, that Sweeny was implacable, and that his claims were not to be paid. O'Brien left the office angrily, and a by-stander, who was in the secret, remarked that he looked like a man who meant mischief.

That afternoon the members of the Ring had another and doubtless stormy consultation, as the result of which the morning's action was reconsidered, and it was at last agreed to send Watson to negotiate further with O'Brien. The former made an appointment to meet and confer with O'Brien at Bertholf's Hotel, a noted resort for sporting-men on Harlem Lane. O'Brien was accidentally detained, and Watson, not finding him at the appointed place, turned back, thinking to meet him on the road. The two passed each other unknowingly, and O'Brien drove to Bertholf's, where, learning that Watson had but just departed, he hastily sought to overtake him. But he was too late. As Watson was passing in his sleigh at a rapid pace, through the narrow space in front of the St. Charles Hotel, another vehicle, driven, it is said, by a drunken Dutchman, turned into the street, the horses of which collided with the pair driven by Watson, one of which was killed by a blow of the shaft, while the other, rearing to escape the peril, turned and fell upon the sleigh to which he was attached, striking Watson on the forehead with his hoof. O'Brien ar-

rived on the spot a few moments after the accident, and saw the injured man taken into the hotel, and afterwards to his home in 42d Street. Watson was perfectly conscious, and able to walk up the steps of his house unaided. Indeed, at first, he seemed likely to recover, and for two or three days his condition improved, but congestion of the brain finally set in, resulting in his death. During the days of uncertainty, Watson's house was literally taken possession of by the members of the Ring and their agents, who kept constant watch at his bedside, superseding the services of his family, and alarming them by their mysterious and unceasing attendance. On the one hand it was feared that the injured man might make a death-bed confession, and reveal damaging secrets; on the other hand, a large amount of property along the line of the Broadway widening, belonging partly to the Ring and partly to property-owners, whose awards on account of injury sustained were beyond their just dues, had been conveyed to Watson as representative of the Ring, and it was feared that, unless he made the necessary transfers before his death, the members of the Ring would not only lose their property, but that, upon the settlement of his estate, the existence of the other assignments would necessitate undesirable explanations. Watson, however, died and made no sign. The transfers of property were not executed, and his family reaped great benefit from the omission. To certain members of the Ring Watson's end was a great relief; especially was this the case with Connolly, who, while his late County Auditor was passing away, seemed haunted by a strange fear, and now evinced his sense of relief by attending a public ball on the evening of his death.\*

Indeed, the probabilities are very great that for a brief space after Watson's death, not only Connolly, but all his associates indulged in a fitful gleam of very considerable mental complacency. In fact, however, that event precipitated the crisis which had long been preparing, and which only expedients more and more desperate had thus far deferred. Had Watson lived, it is ex-

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\* Garvey, in one of his affidavits, says: "A day or two after said Watson's death, said Connolly, addressing me, said: 'I did a big day's work yesterday.' I inquired, in reply: 'Indeed, what was that?' Said Connolly answered: 'I got hold of Watson's book containing the list of payments to us. I tell you, I soon put it out of the way.'"



tremely probable that some temporary truce would have been patched up between O'Brien and the Ring; for Watson, from his official position, appreciated, probably more than any one else, the extent and importance of the possible revelations which O'Brien might have it in his power to make; and he may too have suspected an amount of treachery among his subordinates even greater than really existed. His death, however, left Copeland's portentous transcript unbought in the hands of the most active and dangerous of the enemies of the Ring, and it now only remained to be seen what use he would make of it. For a time, nothing was publicly heard of it. Vague rumors of the existence of certain copies of municipal accounts, supposed to be fraudulent, had indeed crept abroad, and O'Brien was supposed to have more than a mere knowledge of their whereabouts. More than once, accordingly, efforts were made to induce him to consent to their publication. He, however, without denying the existence of the documents, declined to make them public, saying that he wished first to settle some other matters. The real fact, undoubtedly, was that he still hoped to drive a bargain satisfactory to himself with the Ring. Why he did not succeed in doing so is still a mystery; probably those resentments, the cherishing of which in politics was so much deprecated by Mr. Tilden, stood in the way. O'Brien hated Sweeny, and Sweeny detested O'Brien; and while Sweeny was vindictive and malignant, O'Brien was hot-tempered and revengeful. Undoubtedly the latter wished to be rich, and cared not a straw through what agencies he came by his wealth; but perhaps the desire to gratify his animosities, and to witness the destruction of those whom he hated, was stronger even than the desire for money. However this may be, weeks and months passed away, and still Copeland's fatal transcript of accounts lay in O'Brien's possession unpurchased by the Ring, and yet not revealed to the public. During the whole time negotiations in relation to it were dragging along, and O'Brien himself has asserted that so great was the solicitude of the Ring on the subject, that its members even proposed to admit him as a full partner in it as the price of his silence. This seems scarcely probable in itself; it is more reasonable to suppose that, as his sheriff's fees, which

were still rolling up against the city, were not paid, he became unable to endure the delay, and was ultimately compelled to bring matters to a climax.

Meanwhile the clouds were gathering more and more heavily over the heads of the now devoted Ring, and from out them not only did the thunder roll ominously, but now and again the lightning struck ; and it struck, too, in strange and unexpected quarters, dimly presaging the fury of the impending storm. This was well exemplified by the arraignment of David Dudley Field before the Bar Association at the very time the negotiations just referred to must have been pending. The formation of the Bar Association, in 1870, was the first practical movement towards a reform successfully carried out. It was, in fact, a protest on the part of the decency and respectability of the legal profession against the loathsome degradation into which since the introduction of the system of an elective judiciary, the bench of New York City had gradually and steadily fallen, and the evidences of which have already occupied their full share of space in the pages of this Review.\* The degree to which the notorious deterioration of the bench had affected the *morale* of the bar has already been referred to in an earlier article of this series ; † but so far had this contagion spread, that, at the moment, the utterance did not seem wide of the truth, when, in referring to the selection by the Tammany organization of candidates for the judiciary in utter contempt and disregard of the views of the bar, the "Times" bitterly declared that "the Ring, in accomplishing this, had done what James II. or George III., the Roman mob or the French terrorists, could not do, — cowed the legal profession." Indeed, at that time, the attitude of the bar seemed to be one of abject submission at the feet of the thieves, blackguards, debauchees, and ruffians who controlled the municipal and Erie treasuries, and of their associates on the city bench. The influences which induced this apparently servile bar to rebel against the Ring judges, and to institute reform, were not far to seek.

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\* North American Review, Nos. CCXVI., July, 1867, pp. 148 – 176 ; CCXXIV., July, 1869, pp. 55 – 96 ; CCXXXI., April, 1871, pp. 241 – 291, 392 – 421 ; CCXLV., October, 1874, pp. 390 – 398.

† North American Review, No. CCXLV., October, 1874, p. 390.

Besides the indignation and disgust excited by the scandalous acts of Barnard and his associates, which were particularly felt by its younger members, the bar became alarmed at the effect which the condition of the courts began to have upon their clients, who were afraid to bring their cases there, and preferred rather to submit to pecuniary loss than to enter upon litigation.

This touched the lawyers in that most sensitive point, the pocket nerve ; and they began to question whether the perpetuation of the Ring judiciary was wholly compatible with a suitable future increase of their own professional emoluments. The older members of the profession, although disposed to be conservative and timid, became under this incentive somewhat bolder, though the Ring would never have had much to fear from them ; fortunately they had younger associates at the bar, the ardor of whose spirits had not been mollified by the seductive influence of an established name and practice, and whose contact and familiarity with pitch was likewise of a more recent date. As originally planned, also, the Bar Association was rather a professional club than a reformatory body, though even in that shape the Ring instinctively felt that it was an organization to be feared, and no little difficulty was encountered in securing a charter for it from the venal Legislature controlled by Tweed. When at last all steps preliminary to an organization had been effected, a call for a meeting was issued, one of the signers of which was David Dudley Field. That gentleman's intimate professional connection with many of the worst legal outrages which had marked the career of the infamous James Fisk, Jr., while in control of the Erie Railway, had attached to his name a most unfortunate notoriety. The presence of this name among the signers of a call supposed to be preparatory to a reform movement was, to say the least, unfortunate, and excited comments indicative rather of incredulity and disgust than of sanguine faith. It has been stated that the name of Mr. Field was to have been excluded in forming the new association, and it would certainly have been well for him had it been so from the commencement ; but, as it was, no public objection was made to his becoming a member of it. When, however, a list of officers was selected, Mr. Field's name, considering his age and professional prominence, was

conspicuous for its absence; and when the meeting to organize the Association was held, Mr. Field was the only notable absentee. A complete organization was, however, effected, and a large building in 27th Street was leased for the use of the Association, which soon became an habitual gathering-place for its members. Then speedily ensued a singular episode, illustrating the curiously electric condition, so to speak, of the moral atmosphere,—a condition in which any accidental line or word might serve as a conductor to draw down the charge. Toward the close of December there appeared in the Springfield, Mass., “Republican,” a letter from a correspondent in New York City, which contained a brief paragraph referring to Mr. Field, and to the injury which his reputation had sustained through his connection with Fisk and Barnard in the Erie litigations. This paragraph, having been copied in the New York “Times,” was read by Mr. Field, who saw fit to be both sensitive and indignant, and he at once wrote to the editor of the “Republican” denouncing the paragraph as “scurrilous,” and demanding from him a public disavowal of it. This the editor declined to make, and a heated and, toward the close, very personal correspondence then followed between the editor, Mr. Bowles, on the one side, and Mr. Field and his son Dudley upon the other,—upon the question whether a lawyer may or may not, without discrimination and responsibility, undertake any cause which may be offered to him, and whether Mr. Field, by acting as the advocate of Fisk and Gould, had rendered himself amenable to public criticism. The correspondence was a lengthy one, and was subsequently printed in pamphlet form. The general verdict upon the controversy was, that while Mr. Bowles’s logic was sound, it lacked sustaining facts. His side of the case, however, soon gained a more formidable champion in the person of General F. C. Barlow, who, after having evidently chafed in hardly suppressed indignation over the revolting condition of affairs with which he found himself surrounded, now sprang into the arena. A series of letters appeared from him in the “Tribune” in rapid succession, in which Mr. Field’s relations with Fisk and Barnard were revealed with startling clearness, and an abundance of evidence was adduced to more than justify Mr.

Bowles's claim that those relations laid Mr. Field open to the severest criticism.

At the close of his letters in the "Tribune," General Barlow announced that he should immediately present charges of impeachment against Mr. Field before the Bar Association; and by this act, thus early and in spite of itself, he forced that Association into prominence in the struggle for reform. Until the date of the Field-Bowles correspondence, no question had come before the Association involving the professional character of any of its members. At its monthly meeting immediately subsequent to it, there had been a large attendance of members, to ratify the by-laws reported by the Committee on Grievances, which directed how trials of members should be conducted. Mr. Field, as if anticipating the effect of his tilt with Mr. Bowles, was present, and made strenuous efforts to amend the by-laws, so that any one having charges brought against him should have the right to "challenge for favor" any or all of the members whom he deemed prejudiced, and to have their places filled by more suitable persons. This proposition, however, was voted down unanimously, and the only amendment made to the by-laws was that three out of ten of the committee might be challenged for favor, and the other seven could then fill their places from the Association at large. Several other propositions made by Mr. Field were also lost, and the sentiment of the meeting was evidently strongly against him.

Under these circumstances General Barlow presented his charges, which were at once referred to the Committee on Grievances. It thus seemed probable that they would receive prompt consideration, and strong hopes even were entertained by the younger and more sanguine members of Mr. Field's expulsion from the Association. Things were not, however, as yet ripe for such a result as this, and the counsels of those who preached moderation in the warfare against indecency speedily made themselves felt. Delays ensued, and for a long time the committee kept the whole matter in a state of suspense. Finally they reported, and evaded the issue by the trick of a pettifogger, which, if it had not delighted Mr. Field, would have driven him to the verge of self-destruction; they

took the ground that, as the acts relative to which the charges against him had been made occurred prior to his admission as a member, it would be improper for the Association to take cognizance of them.

This perfectly contemptible and universally unsatisfactory conclusion served only to disgust the bar and to make the outside public laugh. Here was indeed a generous outcome for the first and much-vaunted practical movement in the direction of reform ! Yet to those who closely watched the indications of the times this episode was deeply significant in many respects. The great interest and wide-spread attention it excited showed that public opinion was now thoroughly roused. It was made apparent that no man who at all valued his reputation could for an instant afford to allow himself to be associated in the public mind with either the Ring or its satellites. Above all, to those who, having eyes, chose to see, it indicated in a way not to be misunderstood that the hour of ripeness was at hand.

Indeed, it would have been strange if public opinion in New York City had not been thoroughly aroused during the first six months of 1870 ; for rarely during any times, except those of war, has it been anywhere more persistently worked upon or by more potent and skilful agencies. Almost simultaneously with the inception of the Bar Association, the New York "Times" and "Harper's Weekly" had begun to assail the Ring with a vigor and courage in refreshing contrast with the subservient tone which marked the utterances of the city press as a whole. It will be remembered that the first of Nast's memorable cartoon caricatures of the Ring had appeared during the contest in the School Board, described in the preceding article of this series. At the instigation of Sands, the Ring had then retaliated by excluding the Harpers' publications from the school supplies. This naturally, however, only led to bolder and more telling attacks, and the whole weight of Nast's pencil, enforced by Curtis's pen, was turned with telling effect upon the municipal authorities. In his own way Thomas Nast is unquestionably a genius ; and now, in this struggle with the Ring, his good fortune had brought him in contact with exactly the conditions necessary to bring all his powers into their fullest play. The cartoons which he poured

forth in the pages of "Harper's Weekly" during the year 1870 mark accordingly a veritable epoch in the history of political caricature, for he elevated it into a deadly weapon of political warfare. The very vulgarity and coarseness which surrounded his victims, and, being inherent in their natures, shone through their visages, was something of which he had a peculiar perception and which he delighted to portray. They were birds—jail-birds—whom the fowler delighted to follow; and at every shot he brought them down. No one appreciated more than Tweed himself the terrible cleverness of these portrayals, and he characteristically said, "I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles; my constituents don't know how to read, but they can't help seeing them damned pictures." But Nast did not confine his attentions to Tweed; he also seemed to specially enjoy depicting Oakey Hall in the most ludicrous aspects, and this was, indeed, a sore affliction to the latter's vanity. The public at large, however, keenly relished these humorous displays, and every newsdealer's window and stand was crowded by throngs of amused observers as often as "Harper's Weekly" appeared.

The line of attack pursued by the "Times," though very different from this, was scarcely less effective. After the passage of the new charter, that paper, deceived by the hope so generally entertained at the time that Tweed and Sweeny meant to institute veritable reforms in the municipal government, had lent a quasi support to the Ring. Late in the summer of 1870, however, a change took place in its management, and Mr. Louis J. Jennings, an Englishman by birth, who had at one time been an editorial writer on the staff of the London "Times," and more recently the American correspondent of that paper, became its responsible head. His sympathies had been decidedly with the Young Democracy, and he felt that no faith was to be placed in the Ring's professions. In a very short time the tone of the paper was changed from nominal praise to the most savage criticism. It has been charged that this conversion was due to selfish considerations, and that it was on account of a disputed bill for city advertising that the "Times" began to attack the Ring. The facts, however, do not bear out this charge. A list of papers which received

a share of the corporation advertising was given in the second article of this series, and it there appeared that, among them all, the smallest amount was received by the "Times." From 1860 to 1870 a total of \$94,715, was paid to that journal on this account, or a yearly average of \$9,471, — an insignificant sum in comparison with the hundreds of thousands of money which were squandered on such unknown sheets as the "Star," the "News," and the "Democrat"; and but a trifling item also in the entire revenue of a great New York City daily. Long before the change in its course took place, moreover, the publisher of the "Times" had ordered that no city advertisements should be received unless paid for over the counter, — which was equivalent to a virtual interdict.

Having, however, begun the attack from whatever cause, the "Times" did not thereafter falter. Its editor was a man aggressive by nature, and in the contest he had now undertaken he availed himself of all the resources at his command. The abundant literature of journalism can hardly supply more vigorous or more incisive writing than that of the leading articles of the "Times" during this contest. And it was a contest against fearful odds. Not only was the Ring securely entrenched with all the powers of the judiciary, the Legislature, and the police at its command, but the other New York City journals, instead of supporting the attack, either deprecated its "violence" or declared that it was due to interested motives. The public, too, seemed deaf to all appeals and indifferent to charges of corruption. Under such circumstances, the boldest might well have despaired; but neither indifference nor slander nor apathy nor cajolery nor intimidation could affect the "Times" and its conductors. Day after day, in strong words backed by incontrovertible facts, it reiterated its assertions that Tweed, Sweeny, Hall, and Connolly were conspirators, and that they had been guilty of manifold crimes and of great abuse of power. It began by showing the degradation of the judiciary, and exposed the secrets of the famous Room 13. It denounced Connolly for withholding his report on the city finances, and with much plainness of speech discussed the relations of D. D. Field with the Erie Railway. The climax was, however, reached when, with praiseworthy directness, it pro-



nounced Tweed a "THIEF," and, emphasizing the significance of that word by the use of the largest of capitals, defied him to deny the accusation.

The effect of this outspoken course was soon apparent. Hall wrote a whining letter to the publisher of the "Times," begging exemption from personal attacks, on the plea of old personal friendship and former connection with the paper. Mr. Jones replied that for A. Oakey Hall he had no criticism, but the Mayor of New York must be responsible for and bear the odium of his official acts. Connolly made like advances and in a highly characteristic manner. Three times he sought an interview with Mr. Jones at his house. The first time he turned back. The second time, after ringing the bell, he sneaked away before the door was opened; and, having mustered up courage for a third venture, he this time was informed that Mr. Jones was out. He then requested an interview with the latter in his counsel's office, and there, with much emotion, offered great sums of money if the "Times" would cease its clamor. "For God's sake, try and stop these attacks! You can have anything you want. If five millions are needed, you shall have it in five minutes." Mr. Jones refused even to consider his proposition, and at once left the room. Similar advances were made to Mr. Jennings as well as to Mr. Nast. Both were offered wellnigh unlimited sums of money if they would but agree to leave New York and go abroad. Ingersoll, with that odd familiarity of address in which the Ring delighted, is reported to have one day said to the latter: "Tommy, if you will take a trip to Europe for a year, you can have your expenses paid, and a new house will be built ready for your return, without your paying a cent for it." Both artist and editor, however, were obdurate, and declined the tempting offers.

Then intimidation was tried. The publisher of the "Times" was "shadowed" for a fortnight, and a repetition of the terrible experience of Dorman B. Eaton seemed impending over him. Next Tweed threatened to buy up Mr. Raymond's stock and thus obtain a controlling interest in the paper. This attempt failed of success by only a half-hour's time; negotiations were actually in progress with Mr. Raymond's widow to buy

her shares, when Mr. Jones made a higher bid and obtained them. Then the judicial machinery was set in motion, and Barnard threatened the "Times" with all the terrors of the law, and its publisher was brought before the grand jury for libelling Mayor Hall. Hall then announced that a flaw had been discovered in the title of the real estate occupied by the "Times," which would enable the city authorities to place a receiver in possession of the Times Building. But the obdurate journal showed itself as deaf to hard words as it had before been to soft, and threats had no more influence upon it than blandishments.

These events took place mainly during the latter part of 1870, and it was under the severe stress put upon it by the "Times" criticisms, and as an offset to them, that the "white-washing committee" — as Messrs. Astor, Taylor, Roberts, and their associates were not inaptly described — was devised and induced to report. That ingenious counter-move temporarily accomplished all that was expected of it, and the "Times" seemed to have achieved nothing more than to secure for itself the reputation of being a common scold. In November of that year, however, shortly after the charter elections, information was sent to it of the existence of Copeland's transcript of the Court House accounts, though, for the reasons which have already been stated, O'Brien would not as yet consent to their publication. The knowledge that proofs of great frauds were in existence strengthened, nevertheless, the hands of the paper, and stimulated its conductors to renewed efforts. While matters were thus drawing toward a climax in this direction, additional assistance came from another quarter. Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, of the Council of Political Reform, an organization intended to do what the Citizens' Association had failed to accomplish, prepared a report upon the city finances, in which he demonstrated that the certificate of "the white washing committee" of November, 1870; was grossly incorrect, and that, as has since been made very evident, the debt of New York had increased, and then was increasing, so enormously as to threaten a not remote bankruptcy. This report was based upon data obtained only by untiring labor and persistence on the part of Mr. Hawkins, undeterred by the obstacles which every member of the Ring, especially Hall and Connolly, threw

in his way. Indeed, it was not until the Comptroller's Report appeared, in June, 1871, that Mr. Hawkins was able to complete his exhibit, which he proposed to the "Times" to publish upon the day following its presentation, June 30. This was done, and the statistics thus presented made a profound impression, especially in financial circles. A few days afterward an associate of Copeland's, named O'Rourke, who had charge of the Comptroller's accounts relating to the city armories, called on Mr. Hawkins, and was sent by him with a note of introduction to the editor of the "Times," and employed by the latter to prepare an exposé of the frauds in the armories for publication. Following close after the Hawkins statement this revelation also produced its effect, though far less than it otherwise would have, had it not happened to appear on the very eve of the Orange riots of July 12, which for a time monopolized public attention.

It was at this time, and before the traces of the excitement incident to the riots had yet wholly died away, that, for reasons not fully understood, O'Brien offered the Copeland transcripts to the "Sun." Mr. Dana, the editor of that journal, happened, however, to be absent beyond reach even of the telegraph, and his managing editor declined to take the responsibility of publishing them.

Then it was, at last, that finally, on July 18, O'Brien hastily entered the "Times" office, and, handing to Mr. Jones a bundle of documents, said, "There are all the figures: you can do with them just what you please." He did not wait to make further explanations, and, without even sitting down, departed.

The accounts were found to be in a state unfit for immediate publication, and it required much labor to put them in a comprehensible form. No time was lost, however, and the next day it was editorially announced that they would be published on the 20th. Their importance and probable effect upon the public were very distinctly set forth; and it is a curious fact, that, during that and the succeeding days, many persons called at the office of the "Times" to remonstrate against their publication, in view of the disastrous consequences which they apprehended must ensue from it.

Indeed, it is not too much to say, that rarely has the publi-

cation of any paper been looked forward to with so much curiosity and expectation. At last, the truth was to be revealed. For months and months charges and epithets had been bandied to and fro, until the generality had ceased to credit anything; but here facts were promised, and now the world would know. And it did know. On the 20th, the day announced, part of the accounts were published, in prominent type and position. They were continued in successive issues until the 29th, when a grand exhibit was made in a supplement printed in German as well as English, and filling in all twenty-eight columns of the "Times." The figures required no explanation. They told their own story,—a story the significance of which was clear to the meanest intelligence. Millions of public money had been squandered, without any resulting benefit to the public; millions had been stolen, and by whom was now apparent. Nast's graphic pencil had already made the dwellers in every nook and corner of the land familiar with the features and bearing of the now detected thieves.

CHARLES F. WINGATE.

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- ART. V.—1. *Studies in the History of the Renaissance.* By WALTER H. PATER, Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1873.
2. *De l'Art Chrétien.* Par A. F. RIO. Nouvelle édition. Paris: L. Hachette; Fribourg-en-Brisgau: M. B. Herder. 1870.
3. *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien.* JACOB BURCKHARDT. Leipzig: E. A. Seeman. 1869.

THESE are the titles of three books which present the same subject, but with totally different results as to the impression produced upon the reader. One of them puts it before us as if it were the only good way, yet too good for most people; another, in a spirit of hostility and detraction; the third, with an excellent breadth of fairness and judicious appreciation. As the authors all three come forward with high pretensions to qualification as instructors, it may be worth while to inquire somewhat at length into the intrinsic value of their instructions, as well as into their method of treating the theme which they have chosen.